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ABSTRACT

This paper traces the history of a magnet school which opened in 1975 amid claims that it would serve as a model of high quality integrated education but which, three years later, was widely perceived as an overcrowded, predominantly black institution. The local Board of Education decided to open a magnet school in which new teaching techniques were to be instituted along with facilities geared to attract students from both black and white areas. By opening a new school with an equal number of black and white students, the problem of one group entering the traditional area of another group was avoided. The first and second years of the school were relatively successful, but the institution of a feeder system in the school's second year, in place of the open enrollment plan, diminished the school's effectiveness in drawing students from diverse areas. The most serious effect on the school's academic programs came from the crowding which resulted from the feeder plan. The feeder plan also functioned to make the incoming classes predominantly black, thereby reducing the school's ability to function as a model of integration. (Author/RLV)

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# When Does A Magnet School Lose Its Magnetism?*

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This paper briefly traces the history of a magnet school which opened in the fall of 1975 amid claims that it would serve as a model of high quality integrated education but which three years later was widely perceived as an overcrowded predominantly black institution. An analysis of the school's first three years suggests that its history is a clear example of the phenomenon which Hardin (1968), referring to the overgrazing of commons land in New England, has labelled the "Tragedy of the Commons" - a situation in which individuals, legitimately acting to secure their own immediate benefit, collectively destroy or at least sadly damage the source of that benefit. The data on which this paper is based were drawn from an intensive three year study which included extensive observation within the school and repeated interviews with students, faculty and administrators connected with it. For a detailed discussion of the methodology employed in the study see Schofield (1977).

## The Context

Wexler Middle School is located in a large industrial northeastern city which will be called Waterford.[1] The city contains a rich variety of ethnic groups including substantial numbers of Italians as well as sizeable communities of Polish, Slovaks, and other eastern European groups. Just over 20% of the city's population is black. A large majority of the black population lives in heavily segregated and economically depressed neighborhoods. However, Waterford does have a

sizeable number of black middle class families as well. There were some race related civil disorders in Waterford during the 1960's. But these were not severe compared to those in cities like Los Angeles or Boston.

Forty-seven percent of the students in Waterford's schools are black. However, over one-half of the city's schools have enrollments which are extremely heavily segregated (over 90% black or white). Waterford has been under some pressure from the state government to desegregate since the late 1960's. Nevertheless, to date,the city has not come up with a plan acceptable to the state. Although the racially mixed Board of Education has emphasized its commitment to desegregation in numerous public pronouncements, it has also consistently been opposed to any desegregation plan which would involve much busing of students solely for the purpose of desegregation. Given the residential patterns in the city, it is extremely difficult to see how thoroughgoing desegregation can be achieved without such busing.

Although the Board of Education has so far failed to produce a plan that will lead to far-reaching desegregation, it has made a number of decisions in the last decade which have at least kept the city's schools from becoming even more heavily segregated than they are. In fact, the percentage of black students in essentially all black schools has decreased modestly in the 1970's from 56% at the beginning of the decade to 46% in 1974 (Center for National Policy Review, 1977). First, the Board has consciously sought to build most of its new schools in locations which can easily serve both black and white children. Second, in the 1960's an open enrollment policy was instituted which let stu-

dents voluntarily transfer to another school if that school was not operating at full capacity. Fewer than one percent of the black students in Waterford have been involved in this program. Nonetheless, it did lead to at least token desegregation of a number of previously all white schools.[2] Finally, in 1974 the Board decided that Wexler, then still in the planning stages, would have a racially balanced student body obtained through open enrollment of students graduating from 24 elementary schools in the northern third of the city. Although the opening of this school obviously could do relatively little to relieve the pervasive segregation in the city's school system, it was hoped that it could serve as a model of both high quality education and thoroughgoing integration.

## Wexler School: A Model of High Quality Education and Thoroughgoing Desegregation

Two basic strategies were adopted to make Wexler an attractive educational institution which could provide, in one administrator's words, "a better education than (is available) anywhere else in Waterford."[3] First, a number of highly touted teaching techniques were adopted. For example, Wexler's academic teachers were organized into interdisciplinary teams of five teachers, with each team jointly having responsibility for a specific group of students. The team approach encouraged curricular coordination among teachers of different subjects and also facilitated consultation among teachers about the specific needs of particular children. Also, Wexler emphasized individualized instruction aimed at providing every child with work at the most appropriate level of difficulty.

In addition to utilizing rather innovative instructional tech-

niques, the school, which cost approximately 12 million dollars to build, had especially fine physical facilities which, it was hoped, would attract students and provide unusual learning opportunities for them. Wexler has athletic facilities including a swimming pool and tennis courts comparable to or better than most high schools in the city. Also illustrative of Wexler's outstanding facilities and programs is its $200,000 media center - three rooms including a production studio and a control room in which students use regular T.V. cameras, lights, and sound equipment to produce programs for transmission throughout the school on an internal closed circuit system. This studio, according to one of Waterford's major newspapers "would be the envy of some commercial T.V. studios."

Wexler was designed to be a model of integrated education as well as of academic excellence. Social scientists like Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1967) have frequently argued that the mere mixing of black and white students is not sufficient to ensure the development of more positive intergroup attitudes and behavior. Pettigrew (1967) calls this mere mixing of students desegregation and distinguishes it from integration, mixing under the specific circumstances which he argues are conducive to positive outcomes. These conditions are equal status within the contact situation, cooperative effort toward mutually desired goals, and the support of law, custom or relevant authorities for positive intergroup relations.

The extent to which Wexler was able to meet its goal of providing a truly integrated environment has been analyzed at length elsewhere (Schofield, 1977). That analysis will not be repeated here. Rather,

Wexler's special efforts to provide a positive interracial environment will be illustrated by a brief discussion of the school's efforts to provide equal formal status to blacks and whites. Typically, school desegregation involves sending black children to previously all white schools. This immediately puts black children at a disadvantage because they are outsiders in the community surrounding the school and newcomers in an already established social system. Wexler differs from this situation in two important ways. First, the school is not located on traditionally white or black territory. It sits on a large tract of land which is bounded by a factory, a government building, a public park, and small stores which are on the periphery of one of the most desegregated shopping areas in the city. Beyond these immediate racially neutral boundaries, a white residential area fans out to the west and a black area spreads to the east. One of the reasons the Board of Education purchased this particular tract of land was its easy access from both black and white residential areas.[4]

In addition to being located on a piece of land which is not clearly white or black territory, the school was interracial from the day it opened its doors. Hence, children of one group were not confronted with having to make a place for themselves in an already functioning social system dominated by the other group and permeated with its attitudes and values. This is a very important factor in making equal status relations between the groups possible. For example, in some previously all white schools black students have had to resort to litigation to end the use of traditional but racially insulting school songs or cheers (Bell, 1975). The process through which

Wexler's mascot was adopted illustrates the equal footing of black and white students in the creation of symbols to represent their school. First, all students were informed by the principal that a school mascot would be chosen. Any interested students were asked to submit a drawing and a name. A biracial committee of administrators chose three finalists from all submissions and every student could vote for his or her favorite. The winning entry was submitted by a black girl.

Wexler's student body, which was 48% black when the school opened in 1975, was obtained through an open enrollment system which used a quota system to insure that the school was roughly half black. The near equal representation of blacks and whites in the student body is clearly conducive to the development of equal status for black and white students. If either group forms too large a majority it becomes much easier for that group to organize itself to gain a monopoly or near monopoly on desirable positions.

However, the mere fact that the student body is about half black does not guarantee that formal and informal status will be equally distributed. For example, in many desegregated schools students are put into academic tracks. Because of poorer educational opportunities earlier in their school careers, black students frequently are disproportionately represented in the "slow" tracks. A school which is 50% black but which has most of its black students in the slow tracks could hardly be said to provide all students equal status.

At Wexler, the formal organization of students into teams and classroom groups generally avoids making such distinctions between groups of students. For example, in the sixth grade students were assigned to teams essentially randomly with respect to their achieve-

ment test scores. Then, within each team, students were generally grouped in a way which would guarantee moderate heterogenity, i.e., students with the lowest scores were often grouped with students with average scores to form a class. Students with the next lowest scores were grouped with others which were slightly above average. Hence, the range of scores within each class was restricted somewhat but there was no obvious "slow" or "fast" class. Although Wexler does not use a tracking system, there are two special highly segregated groups of students in the school. First, about 80% of the children in educable mentally retarded (EMR) classes are black. Second, about 80% of the students in the eighth grade scholars' program, which will be discussed in more detail later, were white.

The staffing pattern at Wexler is also conducive to the development of equal status between blacks and whites in the school. The administration and the faculty of the school are biracial with almost 25% of the faculty being black. The top four administrative positions are filled by two blacks and two whites. The school's principal, Mr. Reuben, is a white male around 40 years old who had previously been principal in a black school. The eighth grade dean, Mr. Taylor, is white whereas the deans of the sixth and seventh grades, Ms. Kent and Mr. Cooper, are black. The school's commitment to maintaining an equal status staffing pattern is clear in the following excerpt from field notes on a meeting with Dean Cooper during the school's second year.

> Dean Cooper then said that because of the cuts made by the School Board at the end of last year, seventh grade now has only one counselor. The present counselor, a white female, has had primary school experience but this is her first time at a middle school. The Dean made it quite clear that he

found this counselor difficult to work with. He said that things were looking up though because there was a good chance he could get a second counselor. He said, "You know, when they laid out this school they were really careful about the staffing. You had to get it divided white/black male/female and that sort of thing...Both of the counselors that worked with me last year were really good and both of them are interested in coming back; but I can't hire them because the person we have now is a white female so I have to get a black male."

## Recruiting the Students

The Board decided that students would be admitted to Wexler on a first come first serve basis within predetermined quotas set to achieve racial and sexual balance. The goal was to obtain a student body approximately 58% white and 42% black which would have exactly mirrored the black/white ratio in the entire school system in 1974. Black and white community groups both asked the Board to change the quotas to increase the percentage of students from their own group attending the school.[5] However, the Board stuck with the 58/42 white/black ratio.

Once the quota issue was settled, the Board accepted applications to Wexler. Blacks applied to Wexler at a much more rapid rate than whites. Three-fourths of the applications received during the first three days were from blacks. On the first day there were 433 black applicants and 74 whites, on the second 226 blacks and 43 whites and on the third day approximately 100 from each group. The black community's enthusiasm for the school was vividly demonstrated by the fact that by noon of the first day on which applications were accepted the slots for eighth grade black girls were entirely filled. On the other hand, applications from white students were accepted right up until Wexler opened since the white quotas for the various grades were

generally not filled. When the school opened its doors the student body was approximately 47% white and 53% black rather than 58% white and 42% black as had been planned.[6]

Ironically, one strategy for recruiting students which quite clearly was designed, among other purposes, to make the school attractive to whites seriously undermined the school's ability to provide a thoroughly integrated education for its students. The strategy was that of locating the scholars' program, a special city wide accelerated academic program, at Wexler.[7] Students are generally admitted to the program on the basis of standardized test scores including a measured I.Q. exceeding 130. Over 80% of the students accepted into the scholars' program were white. This was so in spite of the fact that somewhat lower cut off points on standardized tests were used for black students than for whites.[8] About 80% of the students in the "regular" eighth grade track were black. Thus, in order to attract white students to the school, a policy which essentially resegregated white and black students into separate and unequal tracks was adopted.

Wexler's First Year

Wexler's first year was a clear success. Even before the school opened, a local radio station aired an extremely positive editorial about the school and its future. Less than two weeks into the school year, a T.V. commentator labelled it as "one of the best, most integrated and most innovative" schools in the area.[9] In November, at Wexler's official dedication, the widow of the man for whom the school was named hailed Wexler as "a living memorial to what he stood for - equality

of the races, equality of education and equality of hope and unde: standing."

Although there were some who initially feared that there might be racial problems at Wexler since the majority of its students came from heavily segregated schools, most of the school's constituents were quite satisfied with the way black and white children adjusted to their racially mixed environment. Agreement was widespread among the school faculty that overt racial problems were minimal or even non-existent as the following rather typical excerpt from an interview suggests:

> "I haven't seen any racial problems so far, if there are any I'm unaware of them"
>
> Ms. Nobel (White Math Teacher)
> February, 1976

Administrators also saw racial problems are practically non-existent:

> Interviewer: You said that another thing that leads to suspension is fighting. What sorts of issues usually bring out a fight?
> Principal : As I see them it is...very seldom racial, very seldom. I have seen only one racial fight. (Usually it's) petty things, you know, someone bumps someone in line...that kind of thing...Petty little things that kids will fight for...90% of our fights the kids start out playing with each other and someone hits someone too hard and there is a fight.
> Interviewer: Do you have any problems or arguments between kids which start out as non-racial and turn into a thing where they start calling each other names?
> Principal : I haven't seen it...I haven't seen any of that at all.
>
> February, 1976

The students, too, generally saw the academic programs as challenging and social relationship as positive as interviews with students both in October, soon after enrolling, and in May, near the end of the

school year, suggested (Schofield, Shaeffer and Hopkins, 1976).

In some ways Wexler's very positive image during its first year contributed to forces which made it difficult for the school to continue to meet its high goals in later years. Specifically, Wexler's opening coincided with two other important events. First, the Board of Education opened Maple Avenue Middle School, a converted elementary school, which drew its student body from several virtually all black feeder schools. Second, renewed furor over the issue of city-wide desegregation threatened when the city school board began for the first time in over two years to consider a new desegregation plan to replace one rejected earlier by the state as unsatisfactory. The opening of the all black Maple Avenue school in a converted building nearly three-quarters of a century old in spite of previous orders from the state requiring the city to move toward racially balanced schools made many blacks very acutely aware of the relatively poor facilities available in many all black schools. Furthermore, the fact that the school board was working on a new desegregation plan at the same time it was continuing legal efforts to avoid the need to desegregate gave those favoring desegregation little cause for optimism. Given the unlikelihood of city-wide desegregation in the near future and the Board's opening of an all black middle school in antiquated facilities, many black parents found their inability to get their children into Wexler especially galling. A teacher at Maple Avenue said, "Our students feel cheated because they don't have what Wexler has."[10] Indeed the black community was so angry at the opening of Maple Avenue

as an all black school that a group of black parents filed suit against the Board to have the facility closed.

In the Spring of 1975, with the Maple Avenue suit still pending and no satisfactory desegregation plan worked out, the Board was faced with the decision of whether to keep Wexler as an open enrollment school or to institute a required enrollment feeder pattern. Simultaneously the issue of whether racial quotas should be changed arose. After numerous acrimonious open-hearings, the open enrollment policy was replaced by a plan in which children graduating from 11 elementary schools were required to attend Wexler. Other children were permitted to enroll only under a few special circumstances such as having a sibling who had entered the school under the earlier open enrollment plan.

This policy change had two very noticeable effects. First, the number of children in Wexler's sixth grade increased from approximately 450 to just over 600. Second, the new sixth grade was over two-thirds black rather than just half black. The Board's new policy was clearly intended to increase the size of Wexler's student body. However, initial projections of the impact of the policy change markedly underestimated the size of the increase which actually occurred. Whether the Board intended the shift in the black/white ratio in the school is unclear. One Board member stated that the figures they had when they approved the policy change did not indicate any major shift in the black/white ratio. On the other hand, the Board of Education was under severe pressures, including the pressure of a law suit mentioned above, to deliver on earlier promises to provide good middle school facilities to the black community. Hence, many observers saw the shift in the

racial balance of the school as a politically based maneuver designed as much to reduce the black community's opposition to Board policies as to meet their demands for improved schools.

Wexler's Second Year

Wexler's second year was, to most of the teachers and students directly connected with it, much like its first. Although the school was somewhat more crowded than it had been, it was well able to handle the enlarged student body since it had some extra space its first year due to having fewer white students than initial projections had counted on. The school's academic reputation remained strong. This reputation was enhanced when a team from the school did extremely well in a round of televised academic quiz shows and lost only in the final round which determined which team would go to Washington, D.C. to participate in a national competition.

Similarly, relations between black and white children generally remained quite peaceful as the following quite typical comment of a teacher suggests:

> "I think our students get along beautifully. I didn't see any (racial) fights, it was really within race that you saw them."
>
> Ms. Qualls (Black Math Teacher)
> June, 1977

However, there were some intimations of the potentially serious problems that the school would face in its third year. Specifically, both whites and blacks began to be concerned about whether the school could remain a viable integrated institution under the new feeder policy. One of the black deans expressed such concerns in an interview:

> Mr. Nix then asked the dean what he thought was the biggest problem the school was facing as a desegregated institution...After complaining about Wexler's construction and maintenance the dean said, "I think I'd have to say the other big problem we are facing is the change from open enrollment to a feeder pattern. I think that's a real mistake...I think we really have to see if we can't go back to open enrollment. Otherwise, Wexler will be just another ghetto school."

The principal began to have to contend with white parents who wanted to withdraw their children from Wexler. He said during an interview:

> There are a lot of concerns and rumors going around Bradford (heavily Jewish section of Waterford) that came from the fact that they (The Board of Education) changed from the open enrollment to the feeder pattern. People (in Bradford) are really afraid the school will become all black. Whereas last year we had kids leaving the private schools to come here, this year we have kids leaving to go to private schools. For example, there were eight white kids who withdrew from the eighth grade when they didn't make the scholar's program. Almost all of them went to private schools." Mr. Reuben smiled and then said, "As a matter of fact, there are 5 or 6 Jewish kids who are now going to the Catholic parochial school...they want to go to a private school, but they can't afford the other ones."

January, 1977

Controversy about the school's future came to a head in April and May of 1977 when the Board of Education had to decide whether to keep the feeder pattern it had set up just a year before or to drop it in favor of a return to open enrollment or a new feeder pattern. There was considerable opposition to the feeder pattern, especially from whites who felt their children would be trapped in an increasingly black school. Retention of the feeder pattern was also viewed unfavorably because it ensured that Wexler would become overcrowded. During the 1976-77 academic year, the school had been able to absorb the big new sixth grade although the sudden increase caused considerable annoyance and inconvenience to many teachers. However, if the

Board kept the feeder pattern policy in effect for a second year, the school would have more students than many people felt it could reasonably handle. Hence, under the feeder plan,the school which had originally been built for 1600 students, would have a student body of over 1800 just three years after its opening.

The Board was in a difficult position. Calls for a return to open enrollment were often thinly disguised complaints from white parents who were unhappy about the black/white ratio under the new feeder plan and a return to open enrollment was clearly unacceptable to large numbers of blacks who recognized that fewer black children could attend Wexler if it returned to open enrollment with the original racial quotas. Also, although some whites already involved with the school were vocal about their desire for a return to open enrollment, the large majority of whites in the city were relatively indifferent to the outcome of the debate so that there was no overwhelming sentiment in favor of a return to open enrollment. If the feeder pattern were kept, as many blacks desired, there was no politically feasible way to solve the burgeoning enrollment. Cutting a white elementary school out of the feeder pattern would leave Wexler resegregated which was undesirable given the ballyhoo which had surrounded its opening as an integrated school and the pressures for desegregation coming from the state. On the other hand, cutting a black school from the feeder pattern was also not feasible since many blacks in the city were already aroused by the Board's opening of the segregated Maple Avenue school and its failure to build a new middle school in their own community. In the end, the Board decided to stick

with the feeder plan and to make another school near Wexler available as an annex to relieve the overcrowding. This school, Comstock, had been an elementary school before it was closed due to declining enrollments.

Unfortunately for the future of Wexler, the rather bitter controversy at the Board's open hearings on the enrollment policy attracted a lot of attention in the local media. The strong arguments about overcrowding and racial tipping points made to try to persuade the Board to change its policy confirmed the burgeoning concern of many parents about the school's viability. The high visibility which the controversy gave to the impact of the Board's policy on the school can be illustrated by brief reference to articles which appeared in Waterford's major papers. One headline covering an article on one of the public hearings proclaimed, "Crowding, Racial Balance Cited As Wexler Problem Areas." An excerpt from this article quotes the chairman of the Wexler parents' committee as saying, "Wexler opened with an ideal situation last year..." The article then goes on to say that the parent alleged that "Now the school is becoming overcrowded...and is becoming racially imbalanced."[11] Another article a few weeks later proclaimed under a banner headline on the paper's first page that "efforts to adjust racial balance at Wexler Middle School (have) simply collapsed."[12]

Wexler's Third Year

The retention of the feeder pattern diminished in a number of ways Wexler's ability to serve as both a model of quality education and

thoroughgoing integration. The most serious effect on the school's academic programs came from the crowding which resulted from a greatly enlarged sixth and seventh grade. This crowding undermined the school's ability to provide many of the very teaching techniques which had been so strongly emphasized when the school opened. For example, because of considerations about the most effective use of physical space, the policy of insuring that all teachers on a team had their planning hours at the same time was dropped. This meant, of course, that the new schedule made it very difficult for teachers to coordinate their efforts which had been the purpose at the very core of the team teaching concept. Also, the noticeably increased class size created new problems in the effective use of the school's open space. Larger class size made it more difficult for teachers who shared open space teaching areas to work since the noise level increased with class size. Finally, the use of the annex to accomodate the school's overflow involved a considerable amount of busing of children during the school day with an attendant waste of time and increase in disciplinary problems.

The school's ability to function as a model of integration was also seriously undermined in its third year. The sixth and seventh grades were both over two-thirds black. Ironically, the school that two years previously had opened as a model of integration now had two grades which were out of compliance with the racial balance guidelines set up by the state for Waterford. The eighth grade, although not officially out of compliance with these guidelines, was divided into a high status predominantly white track and a low status predominantly black track. Furthermore, scheduling considerations now made it easier

to put children in the annex for two types of special classes - remedial classes and accelerated enrichment classes. These classes had existed previously and had been heavily black in the first case and quite heavily white in the second.[13] However, the contrast between the racial composition of these classes was now painfully highlighted. For example, whereas before the children had walked to their classes as individuals or in small groups, now the children boarded essentially segregated busses to go with their classmates to their remedial or enrichment classes.

## Conclusion: Wexler as an Example of the Common's Tragedy

Within three years after Wexler Middle School opened as a model of both unusually high quality education and thoroughgoing integration, its ability to serve as a model for either had been thrown into serious jeopardy. The educational innovations such as team teaching which had offered such hope were floundering under the strains imposed by the swollen size of the student body. The school's efforts to serve as a model of integration were threatened by whites' growing perception of the school as a black school and their desire and ability to find alternate schools under this condition. A recent indication of the extent of the process and its continuing nature is the sudden precipitous drop in the number of white students who voluntarily transferred into Wexler's eighth grade as scholars. Almost 150 white children transferred to the Wexler scholar's program for the 1976-77 and the 1977-78 school years. However, the principal reports that initial estimates of white children transferring to Wexler in this manner for the 1978-79 school year range

from 35 to 50.

Ironically, the very fact that blacks and whites both want to provide their children with the best possible education has led to the problems Wexler has encountered in attempting to fulfill its goals. The whites' great interest in high academic achievement was at least partially responsible for the placing of the scholars' program at Wexler. Although this program attracted whites to the school, it also accounted for the most clear cut violation of the conditions which contact theory sees as crucial to establishing a truly integrated environment. Indeed, a study of social relations between black and white students at Wexler suggested that while such relations improved in the lower racially mixed grades, they deteriorated in the resegregated eighth grade (Schofield and Sagar, 1976,1977). Similarly, blacks' strong desire to provide their children with a high quality education combined with the Board of Education's failure to provide attractive alternatives to Wexler for blacks led to the overcrowding and to the subsequent diminution in the school's ability to provide a truly outstanding educational experience to its students. Perhaps the lesson to be learned from Wexler's difficulties is that schools can not be seen as single isolated entities but must be viewed as part of a larger system. Wexler's history suggests that if one or a small number of schools has special resources, then most citizens are likely to want access to those resources. The subsequent division of the resources is likely to be determined on a political basis with all individuals quite naturally seeking their own good. Thus, access to schools which stand out from the alternate schools as strong magnets with great drawing power may not be determined in a way which

sustains or renews the school's magnetism. Unfortunately, on the other hand, if a magnet school has relatively little extra drawing power compared to other schools it may not be able to overcome the reluctance of many parents to send their children to an interracial school, especially if that school is at a distance from their home.

## FOOTNOTES

1. To protect confidentiality pseudonyms have been used throughout this report for the school studied, the city in which it is located, and all school personnel. Also, occasionally very minor changes of fact have been made solely to assist in protecting confidentiality. For example, areas said to be to the north of the school may actually be east or south.

2. Robert Crain. The politics of school desegregation. Chicago: Aldine, 1968.

3. This claim was made by one of Wexler's deans on a Waterford television show in mid-September of Wexler's first year of operation.

4. Waterford News, December 18, 1974.

5. Waterford News, February 1, 1975.

6. Different sources give somewhat varying estimates of the exact percentage of whites in the student body when the school opened. However, informed estimates ranged only from 47% white to "somewhat over half" white and it is quite clear that the true proportion was very close to one-half white.

7. A scholars' program was available at few other places. However, children from a large segment of the city near Wexler had to enroll in the Wexler scholars' program or else forego the program entirely.

8. I have no official verification of this statement from school authorities. However, I have been told this is the case by both teachers and students. Also, it was clear from class lists I was able to inspect which included information on the level at which students were reading that some of the black children selected for the scholars' program had scores somewhat lower than any of the white children who had been selected for that program.

9. Birth of a New School. A program on local T.V. September 15, 1975.

10. Waterford Herald, June 4, 1978, Section B, Page 1.

11. Waterford News, April 20, 1977.

12. Waterford Herald, May 11, 1977, Page 1.

13. The enrichment program in the sixth and seventh grades was very different from the scholars' program since children went to enrichment classes just a few times a week. The rest of the week was spent in the regular academically heterogeneous classes.

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